1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1
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In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

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In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865

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the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center

BB 161 162 of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SOI1 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

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433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 61). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

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[472] In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and share-croppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large [249 477] capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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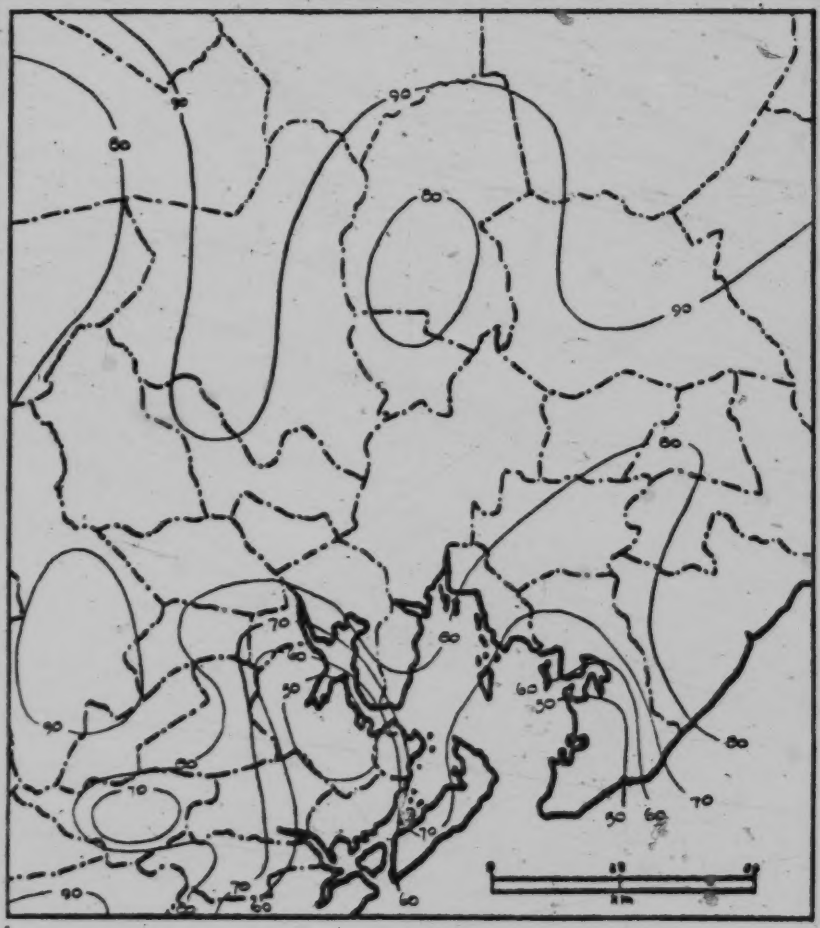

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 112

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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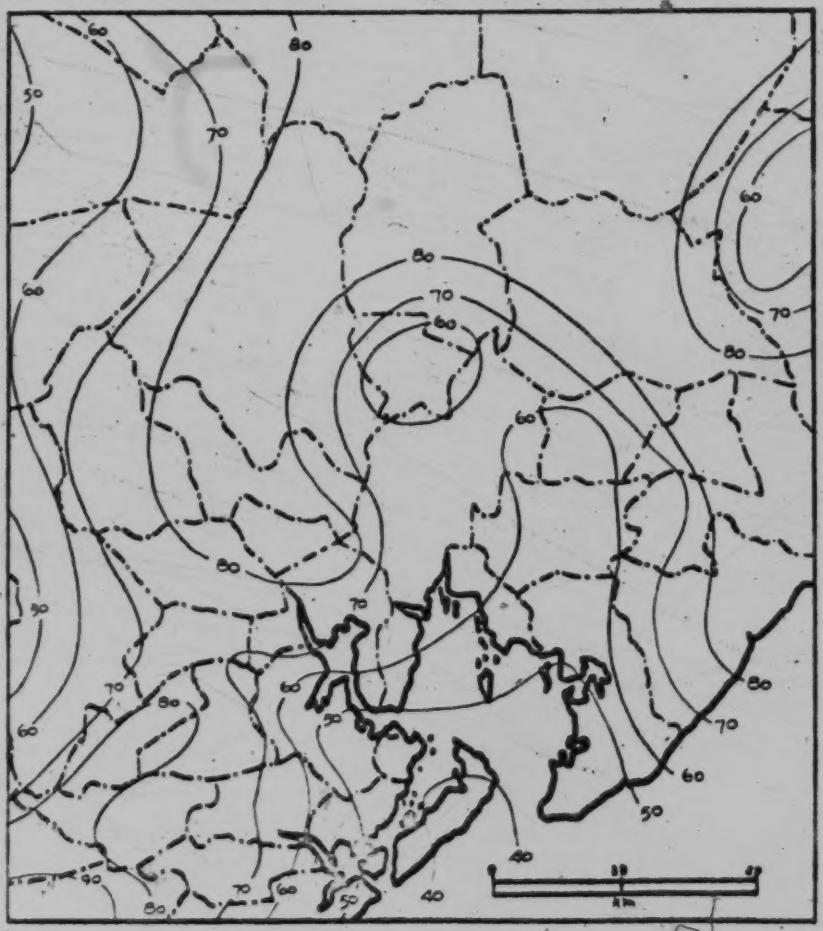

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Owner-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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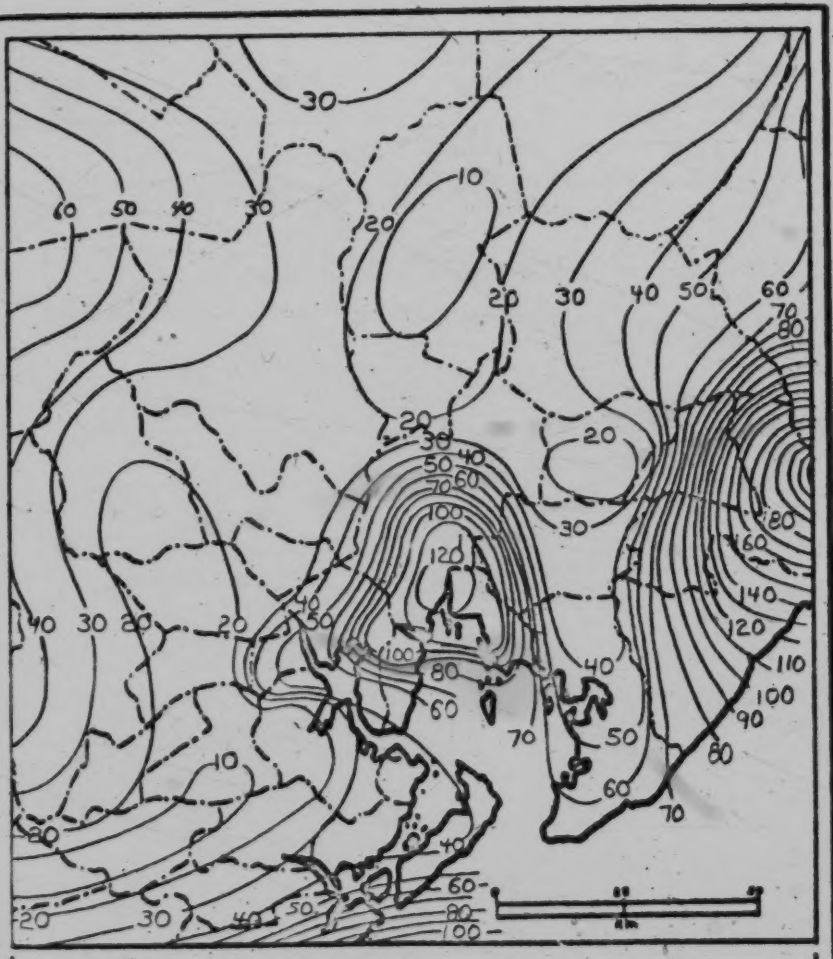

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 114

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
• 472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 • 472 [656] The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

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In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

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The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

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In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[233] of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes [178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
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433 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[569] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

21 Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by
[473] a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked
[162] on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate
[233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among
[245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills
[249] that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few metis predominate.

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441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce: strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations

/47 cont./ pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 441 •472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. [452] A mulatto merchant, owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership [581] of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.